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EDITORIAL SECTION

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## CONGRESS PUTTING VETO ON EXTRA SESSION NEED

### Prospects Now Good That Appropriation Bills Will Be Out of Way by March 4.

BY N. O. MESSENGER.

HOUSE LEADER MONDELL expects all of the appropriation bills to have passed the House by the middle of January, and, judging by the expedition with which the Senate has been acting upon those already sent over to that body, they are all likely to be in the President's hands before March 4 and the expiration of the Congress by constitutional limitation.

The House leader at this time contemplates no exigency calculated to precipitate an extraordinary session of the new Congress in the spring.

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As the crackling of thorns in the fire seems to have been the debate in the Senate over the suggested international economic conference, it remains to be seen whether sufficient heat was engendered to cause the pot of discussion in the country to boil. The administration threw cold water on the proposition as far as congressional action was concerned, but it is apprehended that some of the league of nations followers at large may have been warmed into revived expectation of seeing their ideals in part recognized. Of course, such happy anticipation is futile.

One lesson has been taught by the fiasco in the Senate, and that is the necessity in the future of closer cooperation between senators seeking to exercise the recognized constitutional rights of the Senate to advise in foreign affairs with the executive branch, which has the right of initiative. In the future inquiries will probably be made at headquarters before Congress takes the first step.

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What is the difference between the Senate proposition and the plan which the administration now suggests to deal with the foreign economic situation? may be asked.

The amendment proposed in the Senate, if effected, would have committed the United States to a treaty-making conference of unknown scope and of boundless possibilities, for the results of which the United States, being initiator of the scheme, would have been morally responsible.

The administration's plan contemplates a finding of facts by a tribunal of experts, suggesting means of settling the reparation question, through the voluntary acceptance by the powers concerned, without the United States being committed to participation in the enforcement of the award or being placed in the position of arbiter.

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In the course of his speech at New Haven last Friday night, Secretary of State Hughes let drop a significant hint of the policy of the United States if a crisis arises in Europe over attempted forcible settlement of the reparations question, which, it is feared, France may in desperation undertake.

It would seem that in such event the United States would not go along with France, but would be found with England.

"The alternative of forcible measures to obtain reparations is not an attractive one," Secretary Hughes held. "No one can foresee the extent of the serious consequences which might ensue from such a course. Apart from political results, I believe that the opinion of experts is that such measures will not produce reparations payments, but might tend to destroy the basis of those payments, which must be found in economic recuperation."

This utterance is taken as in the nature of serving notice upon Europe, in a diplomatic way, that the United States looks with utter disfavor upon that feature of the reparations question.

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The House and Senate will be over the holiday recesses by next Tuesday and will set out upon the last lap of this Congress. In the Senate about the middle or the latter part of the week the ship subsidy debate will again begin. The bill is regarded as in a very precarious position and, in fact, almost in extremis. Its proponents still cling to the slender thread of hope that the objectors may realize the deplorable condition in which the merchant marine will be left should Congress adjourn until December, 1924, without some kind of action, and will permit a vote. There is still the belief that if the bill is brought to a vote it will pass.

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Before this session ends it is possible that a proposed amendment to the Constitution will be submitted to the states on the question of tax exempt securities. The House will take up the resolution of submission after January 15, when the appropriation bills have passed the lower body.

The submission of this resolution will bring about a new situation in the ratification of constitutional amendments by the states. In this case the proposed amendment is construed as hitting at state rights, the power of the states over local taxation.

Grave doubts are entertained by some of the House and Senate leaders whether three-fourths of the states will be willing to ratify the amendment, in view of the protests which already are coming in from many state executives.

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President Harding, in his address to the Congress at the opening of this session, speaking of the tendency to demand amendments to the Constitution, expressed the opinion that amendment should only be proposed in response to acknowledged widespread demand.

In this case the demand is widespread among financiers and put forward by the Treasury Department, to protect the tax revenues of the nation. But it is being resisted by the states as trenching upon their own rights.

It looks as if there may be a contest between federal and state interests which will be important.

## Remarkable Railroad Showing at Year End Discloses Dawn of an Era of Prosperity

BY JULIUS H. PARMELEE,
Director of the Bureau of Railway Economics.

AS the year 1922 draws to a close the railways look back upon twelve months of hectic conditions. In particular, they experienced the first nation-wide strike of railway employes, and were seriously affected by the coal miners' strikes.

In spite of these industrial disturbances, the year ends with a much improved situation. Gross revenues have been greater than in 1921 by $30,000,000, while operating expenses have been reduced nearly $140,000,000. Taxes were the heaviest on record, being greater by $20,000,000 than in 1921, and for the first time reaching $300,000,000. Net operating income increased $145,000,000, and represented a rate of return of 4.05 per cent on the railway value fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. In 1921 the rate was 3.3 per cent, while in 1920 it was a small fraction of 1 per cent.

DR. PARMELEE.

How this improvement in financial position occurred in the face of serious labor troubles forms an interesting chapter in railway performance.

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The coal strikes descended on the country simultaneously on April 1, and lasted for about five months. The railways are vitally interested in coal, for they are its largest consumers and coal forms the largest single element in their freight traffic. More than a quarter of the coal mined each year is purchased and consumed by the railways. More than a third of their freight tonnage represents coal. Anything that affects coal mining concerns them both as consumers and as transportation agencies.

In their capacity as consumers the railways stored an unusual supply of coal last spring. This large supply on hand, together with the tonnage they were able to secure from mines that operated during the strike, enabled the roads to keep their trains running without serious difficulty; but they paid the price in a gradually mounting cost. From March to October the cost of their coal rose $1.36 per ton of 2,000 pounds. As the monthly railway consumption averages about 11,000,000 tons, the strike increased their fuel bill by some $15,000,000 per month.

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In their capacity as transporters of coal the roads faced a more serious problem. In anticipation of the April strike, the movement of coal during the first three months of the year was unusually heavy. By the first of April the railways had handled 442,000 more cars of revenue coal than during the same months of 1921. During the five months of the coal strikes, however, the movement was far below normal, less than 60 per cent of the tonnage moved in the same period of 1921. In these five months the railways handled 1,416,000 fewer cars of revenue coal than in the same five months of the preceding year. They moved all the coal offered them, but because of decreased production there were at all times during the strike many coal cars lying idle for lack of available traffic. The surplus at one time was as great as 235,000 coal cars, and this during the summer months, when operating conditions are at their best.

Coal movement during the eight months to August 31 was thus 974,000 cars short of the corresponding movement in 1921. During the last four months of the year the railways not only handled the normal heavy fall movement of coal, but reduced the shortage of the first eight months to less than half what it was on September 1. Their performance was little short of remarkable.

If non-revenue coal movement be taken into account—that is, coal moved by the railways for their own use—the showing is even better. In the last four months they came close to making up the whole shortage of the first eight months.

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While still in the throes of the coal strikes another industrial disturbance descended on the railways in the shape of a strike of railway shopmen, the first time any body of railway workers have quit work throughout the whole country. The prime factor underlying the strike was the 10 per cent reduction in shopmen's wages ordered by the Railroad Labor Board for July 1. On that date the shopmen generally threw down their tools, with the expressed purpose of hampering railway operation and tying up transportation. How many men actually went out is not known, but perhaps 300,000 out of a possible 400,000 employed in the shops. According to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the number of shopmen at work on July 15 was 255,000 less than in the preceding month. Throughout the whole period of the strike new forces were being recruited, and striking employes were drifting back to work. Between July 15 and August 15 the number of shopmen increased 79,000 and another 96,000 by September 15. On the latter date, with the railways short only 80,000 shopmen, an informal agreement was reached, under which the men still out on some lines agreed to return to work. No general settlement was ever made, and the strike is technically effective today on a few lines. To all intents and purposes, however, the strike ended on September 15, the men accepted the lower basis of pay, against which they struck on July 1, and in some cases conceded also the seniority issue that became so important after the first weeks of the strike. That the men found their venture disastrous is clear. They lost $100,000,000 in wages, and many of them lost their jobs permanently.

But the strike brought a considerable cost to the railways as well. New forces were recruited and trained at great expense, and their work could not from the first be fully effective. Many additional men were engaged as extra watchmen and guards. There were property losses from riots and from damage to freight en route. Last of all, the condition of the equipment was adversely affected, especially the motive power. This deferred maintenance is now being made up, the cost of which runs into the millions and is a direct result of the strike.

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The passenger business of 1922 was the smallest since 1916. A serious slump occurred in 1921, and a further decline of 6 per cent in 1922. The decline this year is traceable, in large degree, to the growing competition from motor cars, both private cars and commercial busses. That this competition is here to stay seems unquestionable, yet in spite of it the railway passenger service has increased during the past three months.

It was the freight traffic, however, that gave greatest encouragement. Although the freight rate level is now about 10 per cent below that of 1921 and 12 per cent below the peak of 1920, the increase in traffic in 1922 was sufficiently great to make the total freight revenue greater than in 1921 by nearly 10 per cent. Except for coal, every class of freight traffic showed a marked increase over 1921. The movement of grain and of merchandise goods broke all records. Live stock movement was 10 per cent greater than last year, forest products 17 per cent greater, and ore 70 per cent greater.

Especially marked was the improvement of the last four months of the year. Reference has already been made to the heavy movement of coal in those months. The freight tonnage of the period was greater than in the same four months of any previus year, even 1920. November and December have made a remarkable showing, the combined tonnage of the two months being 30 per cent greater than for the corresponding months of 1921.

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The improved railway situation should continue well into the coming year. If nothing else, the traffic momentum of the last four months of 1922 will carry on into 1923. Coal movement will be heavy until April, for the shortage growing out of the coal strike has not yet been made up. The other heavy movements show only partial signs of the usual slowing up at this season of the year. General business conditions are good. Building permits, which mean construction work for the next six or eight months, are being recorded in almost maximum volume. The bumper crops of 1922, now being marketed at generally higher prices than last year, mean a purchasing power for the farmer that is being translated into a heavy demand for manufactured products. Unemployment is reduced to a minimum. Everything points to continued prosperity in 1923.

All this will mean more traffic for the railways, barring unforeseen industrial disturbances, such as a renewal of the bituminous coal strike next April. Increased traffic will bring greater railway revenues. The traffic will be more efficiently handled, for the railways have this year ordered twice as many freight car as in 1921 and twice as many locomotives.

Operating expenses may show some increases, although, on the other hand, the railways will hardly be forced to undergo another nation-wide strike, with its tremendous attendant costs. Railway labor's experience with such a strike in 1922 will make them wary of another such venture within the next twelve months.

Net railway income should show a further increase in 1923. It should, in fact, be as great as 5 per cent on railway value, if not greater. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the Interstate Commerce Commission, in fixing the present levels of freight and passenger rates, expressed the hope that the railways would, under those rates, earn not less than 5¾ per cent, which is the "fair return" fixed by the commission under the terms of the transportation act. The railways have never earned that return since the act became law. In 1920 they earned a fraction of 1 per cent, in 1921, 3.3 per cent, and in 1922, 4.05 per cent. It is now time for their earnings to exceed 5 per cent to come, indeed, within sight of the goal of 5¾ per cent. With the improved conditions of 1922 to hearten them, and with the promise of continued improvement, the possibility of reaching that goal in 1923 has become something more than a pleasant dream.

## PRESIDENT AND CABINET REACHED TOP BY WORK

### Herbert Hoover's Book Brings Out Fact That Only Two Had Economic Inheritances.

BY BEN McKELWAY.

HORATIO ALGER, Jr., looking for good material, might pause at a paragraph in Herbert Hoover's new book, "American Individualism," which reads: "That our system has avoided the establishment and domination of class has a significant proof in the present administration in Washington. Of the twelve men comprising the President, Vice President and cabinet, nine have earned their own way without economic inheritance and eight of them started with manual labor."

As a matter of fact, Mr. Hoover might have put it the other way around, gone a little farther and stated, "Only two have earned their own way with economic inheritance," for it takes only a hasty survey of the biographies of the present cabinet members to show that, with the exception of Secretaries Mellon and Denby, the rest started life "on their own," and, with the exception of Secretary Hughes of the State Department, all began with manual labor.

**How They Got Start.**

President Harding started as a printer's "devil." Secretary Hughes was the son of a Baptist preacher in a small town. Vice President Coolidge and Secretaries Weeks and Wallace, Attorney General Daugherty and Postmaster General Work were the sons of struggling farmers and all of them worked as farmhands. Secretary Hoover was the son of a village blacksmith, although his father was an educated man. Secretary Fall, son of a Confederate soldier, was a pioneer and served as a cowboy and prospector in the west when it was truly wild. Secretary Davis, erstwhile iron puddler, was the son of a poor Welsh immigrant, whose first experience with democratic America was to be robbed of virtually all his hard-earned worldly goods.

Mr. Harding's rise from a printer's "devil" to the White House has been advertised far and wide, and continues to be, so that the majority of newspaper readers are more or less familiar with his career. Secretary Davis is another whose picturesque biography is rather well known. But Mr. Hoover probably is the first to cite proof of opportunity in a democracy by pointing to the present cabinet, which has been termed by its less informed critics a "rich man's cabinet."

**Worked Despite Inheritance.**

Nor does the fact that Secretary Mellon and Secretary Denby were born with economic inheritances detract from the worth of what both have accomplished in life. It only proves that they, too, possess the "stuff" which has enabled them to double the talents with which they were endowed at birth. Mr. Mellon was the son of a Pittsburgh judge, who, upon his retirement from the bench, established the banking house of T. Mellon & Sons. Upon the present secretary's graduation from the University of Pittsburgh, he entered his father's banking house, becoming a partner a year later. He has since become one of the world's richest men.

Secretary Denby, the other cabinet member who was given something of a start in life by the fortune which favored his father, was the son of a former United States minister to China. He spent part of his youth in China, received his schooling at the University of Michigan and is by profession a lawyer. He has made a fortune in the automobile industry.

But as for the rest of them, those who have literally risen "from rags to riches"—though they do not all measure their wealth in terms of dollars and cents—a brief glance at their biographies is sufficient. The imagination should be allowed to do the rest.

**Coolidge Early in Politics.**

Vice President Coolidge was born and spent most of his youth on a Vermont farm. He graduated from Amherst College at the age of twenty-three and after a law course began his practice in Northampton, Mass. He entered politics early in life, serving as city solicitor, mayor, a member in the state house of representatives and senate, lieutenant governor and governor of Massachusetts, and finally to his present office of Vice President of the United States.

Mr. Coolidge is not a rich man, and his friends recall that while he was governor of Massachusetts his executive mansion consisted of one room in a small Boston hotel.

Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes, son of a Baptist minister, was born in Glens Falls, N. Y., and shortly after his birth his family moved to Newark, N. J., where Mr. Hughes attended public school until he was eleven years old. His family then moved to New York city, and in 1875 Mr. Hughes graduated from the city public schools as salutatorian of his class. His oration was considered a remarkable piece of work for a lad of thirteen. He graduated from Brown University with honors at the age of nineteen. He studied law at Columbia, completing his course at the age of twenty-three, and beginning work in his profession as a clerk in a law office. Secretary Hughes first attracted public attention through his work as special examiner for the renowned Armstrong committee of the New York state legislature and the subsequent insurance scandals of 1905. His service as Governor of New York, his appointment to the Supreme Bench, his nomination for President of the United States and the prominent part he has taken in President Harding's cabinet are well known.

**Started on the Farm.**

John Wingate Weeks, Secretary of War, is the biggest man, physically, in the cabinet. He began life as a farmer boy on his father's farm near Lancaster, N. H., and taught school at the age of sixteen. He secured an appointment to Annapolis the following year, graduating in 1881. His naval career was short. Three years after his graduation he was mustered out of the service because of lack of ships. He went to Florida, worked as a civil engineer, and during the Spanish-American war served his country as an officer in a volunteer naval brigade.

He entered politics and business—as banker—at about the same time, and in 1905 was elected a representative in the Fifty-ninth Congress. His service in Congress, as representative and as senator, terminated shortly before his appointment as Secretary of War. Mr. Weeks is the first graduate of the Naval Academy to direct the destinies of the Army, but even his most severe critics—and Army officers are always the most severe critics of the Secretary of War—admit his efficiency. There is no more popular cabinet member with the men on "the hill" than Mr. Weeks.

**Daugherty Always a Scrapper.**

Harry M. Daugherty, who likes a scrap and smokes a pipe at the Gridiron dinners, is another farmer boy. He has been used to hard work—and fights—all his life. It has been written of him: "Count that day lost whose low descending sun and evening newspaper does not bear testimony to Mr. Daugherty being in the public prints about something, somehow, for things done or not done, or said or not said about him. He is the biggest individual power in the Washington regime, and the object of more bitter criticism and vituperative attack than any one figure in Washington, from democrats, from labor, even from some republicans, but who thrives on it."

Harry Daugherty was left an orphan by his father's death when he was four years old. He had nothing to start on. He got his schooling by working as a farmhand in summer and a grocery clerk at night during winter and going to school when he could. He saved enough money to send himself through law school at the University of Michigan, moving to Columbus, Ohio, soon after his graduation, where he became a leader in state politics and a lawyer of distinction.

Albert B. Fall, Secretary of the Interior, comes from northern New Mexico. His home is there—a ranch, which he won as a pioneer in days when "what you got was yours—so long as you could keep it." The son of a Confederate soldier, Secretary Fall worked his way through school in Kentucky and saved enough money to pay his way to the Mexican border. Cowboy, farmer, miner, prospector, school teacher and finally rancher, he studied law in between times, taking a prominent part in the development of his state. He has not always been a republican, and one of the first public offices he held was through an appointment from President Cleveland as associate justice of the New Mexico supreme court. He has been one of the President's closest friends during the time heserved in the Senate and as a member of his cabinet.

**Read Himself Through School.**

Herbert Clark Hoover, whose name means more abroad than George Washington or perhaps any other American, was the son of a village blacksmith and mechanic, a man of education, who conducted a small repair shop in West Branch, Iowa. His mother has been described as "a woman of rare capacity, shy and reserved, but with personal color and attractiveness, a recognized preacher at Quaker meetings." He lost both parents at an early age, and, after being cared for by kind relatives, undertook at the age of fourteen to support and educate himself. He got a job in Portland, and in a cumbered storeroom, by the light of a lamp on the floor, read himself through a high school course, which gave him the necessary preparation to enter Leland Stanford in the pioneer class of that now famous university.

He specialized in engineering and during the summer worked on geological surveys in California. One of his companions once spoke of "Hoover's luck."

"What do you mean?" asked the boss, "by talking about 'Hoover's luck'? It's not luck; it's reward. If you would work half as hard and half as intelligently as he does you would have half his luck. If I tell one of you others to do something I have to come around in an hour to see if you have followed my instructions, but when I set Hoover at anything I know it will be well done. And he doesn't ask me how, either. If I directed him tomorrow to go to Kamchatka for a walrus tooth, I'd never hear of him until he got back with the trophy. Then I'd ask him how he did it."

Mr. Hoover's work as an engineer has taken him to nearly every part of the civilized world. In mining and railroad engineering he has been in Mexico, Australia, China, Italy, India, South Africa and Russia. He was a noted engineer when the war broke, and his work as food administrator has made his name known throughout the world.

**Worked Hard for Education.**

Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, started life as a farmer boy and has been identified with farming ever since. He was born in Rock Island, Ill., and worked hard for his education through preparatory school and college. A short time after entering the Iowa State Agricultural College his course there was broken up by the withdrawal of one of his father's tenants, necessitating his return to the farm. He worked in the tenant's place for five years before he was able to go back to college, which he did, graduating in 1892. Soon after his graduation he founded,

(Continued on Third Page.)

## Answers Charge That the Jews Are Not a Productive People

Speaking at a Jewish banquet in Hartford, Conn., recently, Samuel Untermyer of New York answered the often made and reiterated charge that the Jews are a non-productive people. He said, in part:

"Palestine is being rapidly rebuilt through Jewish effort. Jewish enterprise, in innumerable forms of activity, but primarily and fundamentally through the Palestine Foundation Fund. What the Jews are doing at the present moment in Palestine is going to forever bury the slanderous myth that the Jews are not a productive people. This charge has always been a calumny and a myth. And if there are times and places, as there were and still are, when any considerable proportion of Jews were driven to the so-called non-productive occupations, it has been due to the oppression and bigotry of the very people who have exploited this libel against them.

"It has been due to the persistent denial of opportunity to engage in productive occupations, for which the Jews have suffered in various periods and in many lands. For centuries they were not permitted to own or till the soil, and this is still true in some of the countries where bigotry and persecution yet flourish and where civilization is at a low ebb.

**Find Opportunity Here.**

"Fortunately this denial of opportunity does not exist in our own country. The charge of unproductivity against the Jews of America is false, reckless and contemptible and is prompted by racial and religious venom and bigotry. It is without excuse, but it cannot be ignored. It must be answered and put at rest.

"In this connection my attention has been called to a widely published report in the newspapers of a few days ago, quoting a high official of that strange and medieval eruption on the civic life of our beloved country, the Ku Klux Klan, in which that individual is quoted as having emitted the libel that the Jews are an unproductive people. He is reported as follows:

"'The Jew produces nothing anywhere on the face of the earth. He parts his hair and his spleen over the does not till the soil. He does not create or manufacture anything for common use. He adds nothing to the sum of human welfare. Everywhere he stands between the producer and the consumer and sweats the toll of the one and the necessity of the other for his gains.'

"This tissue of falsehoods is reported to have been uttered by one who calls himself the 'imperial wizard.' He may be a wizard in spreading the poisonous creed of his organization, but he displays no wizardry in the statement just quoted, for it carries its own denial. It contains nothing but cupidity and malice and a keen scent for persecution and slander, unless it be due to hopeless ignorance and bigotry.

"To think that these words should have been uttered only four years after the armistice, after the successful achievement of a struggle that enlisted the blood and treasure of all the classes of citizenship of our country, and, among the foremost, of the Jews of America! To think that any creature who miscalls himself an American would have the hardihood to utter such words only four years after a war that could not have been won but for the enthusiastic and harmonious co-operation of all the citizens of America, and foremost among them the Jews of America!

**The Jew In America.**

"To charge the Jew with being unproductive is to disregard all statistics and to ignore the most elementary facts that are familiar to all who know anything of the industrial life of our country. There are already in the United States 12,000 Jewish families engaged in farming, representing a population of over 60,000, distributed among the states of the Union. They cultivate more than 1,000,000 acres of land, representing holdings to the value of $100,000,000, and this, despite the fact that the cultivation of the soil is the last occupation to which the Jews, because of their peculiar history and the especial persecutions to which they have been subject, particularly in Russia, have been permitted to enter. Were it not for the existence of the type of mind represented by the imbecile mind and his spleen over the number of Jewish farmers in America would probably be much greater.

"What do the statistics of Jewish immigration reveal? From the period 1899 to 1910 almost 600,000 Jewish immigrants, whose occupations were classified, entered the country. Of these, 70 per cent were reported as being skilled and productive workers, and 11.8 per cent as unskilled laborers. In other words, about 82 per cent of the Jewish immigrants were productive workers of one kind or another.

"It so happens that the great majority of Jewish workers in this country are connected with or organized in trade unions, and it is therefore possible to secure reliable information as to the activity of the Jews in various industries. I have taken the trouble to inquire of the officials of some of these unions. What do I find? In the ladies' garments manufacturing lines alone there are employed approximately 175,000 Jews throughout the country, while in the men's clothing lines the number of Jews employed throughout the country is 200,000, thus making 375,000 Jews in these two needle trades alone. If other allied garment trades are considered, it would appear that at least 500,000 Jewish workers, or one-sixth of the entire Jewish population of the country, including men, women and children, are engaged in the needle industry alone. There are in this country about 600,000 Jewish heads of families. Compare this with the fact that half a million Jews are engaged in the needle industry alone, and decide for yourselves whether or not the Jews are producers. Practically the entire population of the United States is supplied with clothing by the Jews.

**In All Lines of Production.**

"I have it on the authority of the same officials of the trade unions that in New York city alone with its 1,500,000 of Jewish population, again including men, women and children, there are nearly half a million Jewish workers, embracing every line of productive employment, including, among many others, the building, metal and printing trades and the makers of bread and other foodstuffs.

"Incidentally, it may be added that the Jewish worker, though largely a newcomer to America, has not only not reduced the American standard of living, but has been largely instrumental in many instances in initiating and in maintaining a higher standard of living. I could go on multiplying instances and quoting figures to prove the assertion that the overwhelming majority of Jews in this country—I speak, of course, of the adult Jews—are engaged in hard work in the basic productive industries. But even without a statistical investigation, it is self-evident to the ordinary observer of life in our industrial centers that the predominant number of the Jewish population consists of factory workers."

## "AS I SEE IT."

*By William Allen White.*

Note.—In publishing this article by the brilliant editor of the Emporia Gazette The Star does not necessarily indorse the views he expresses. But Mr. White brings to the discussion of current events a fertile mind and an entertaining style, and a discriminating public will place its own valuation upon the opinions he advances.

A FAIRLY good average old year closes tonight. For America it has produced prosperity, which, according to our outward religion, is the chief end of man. For continental Europe the old year has brought confusion and a gradual sinking into despair. For England the old year has brought hope, but no substantial benefits, and for the rest of mankind, for those who still wear their shirts outside their trousers, the New Year is just another year.

There is a difference between the years and the decades and the centuries only for those who believe in progress. It may be a grand delusion. Perhaps all this fidgeting that we call change is circular and not forward; maybe the twilights purple rim toward which we are going is only a vicious circle and we are getting nowhere. But those of us who belong to the section of humanity that eats regular meals and uses chairs, feels that it is on the way to some glory or other, and by rights this year should leave us one short stage nearer our goal.

In America, which is, after all, our immediate concern, if not our ultimate anxiety, we have done two things: we have calmed down and waked up.

The bushes are not so full of bolshevists as they were last year, nor are business men breaking contracts as they did in 1921, nor paying so much interest, nor is labor looking so keenly for work, nor is the old sport drinking so much hooch nor such bad liquor as he drank a year ago, and we are much nearer what will have to pass for normalcy than we have been for a decade. So much for our calming processes.

We are awake to realities as we have not been since the war. We know now that we are a part of the world and must play a world part. We realize now that we have been asleep while the grafters and boodlers and amiable agents of special privilege have been taking the shingles off the roof and the stones out of the foundation of the republic. But the election indicated that the snap of picking the eggs out of the public without public protest is about over. When they raided the mint the other day, the guards made a fuss about it. In 1921 the guards would have given the bandits three cheers! The packers did not get their merger sanctioned without a struggle. Last year the success of the merger would have been made a subject for national prayers.

And so the old year passes, and we go into the new with our nerves serene and our eyes open. Which is a wonderful condition when you stop to think of all we have had to stand for the last ten years.

**The Glad New Year.**

WHAT a glad New Year it will be for your Uncle Sam. With his creditors burning the backs of his ears with their hot indignant breath, and with his debtors fading into the horizon, with La Follette on the war path and Johnson running for President, with the near east crumbling into barbarism, and middle Europe slumping to decay, with the Irish Free State outdoing the tyrannies of England, leaving no one for the Irish to hate, with Great Britain about to lose India and France about to lose her head, with burglars, bandits and boodlers chasing the minions of the law under the bed, and the boozebuyers smashing the federal Constitution to bits, the most comfort Uncle Sam can get out of it is the sweetly solemn thought that, being the oldest government now on earth, operating under the same constitution, it will be his turn soon.

So let's wish him a happy New Year, then duck and run.

**Borah and the Grass Roots.**

SENATOR Borah's demand for an international conference upon economic problems took courage back of his wisdom. A man who seems to break with his tradition has to battle with gnat-brained men whose God is consistency. Borah, seeing the need of bolstering a crumbling world, not for the world's sake, but for our sake, did only what Borah would naturally be expected to do. He never has been an opportunist. He has followed his convictions without fear. And the interesting and curious thing about his change is that it has come from the times. The need of an economic conference, the need of restoring Europe in order to preserve the European market for American farmers is a conviction that has forced itself inexorably into every intelligent mind.

Borah keeps his ear to the grass roots. But he listens to the grass roots, not for guidance in casting the next ballot in the Senate, but for useful information. He has found not that the people want the conference, possibly they do not want it—but that they need it. So Borah is for it. He is that kind of a statesman. Borah has that rare mental gift—the gorgeous independence of a man with an open mind.

**The Return of Arbuckle.**

POLITICALLY, the gesture with which Will Hays announced the return of Roscoe Arbuckle to the films was a mistake. The return of Arbuckle has nothing to do with his banishment. Whether this retirement was wise or not it was achieved, and his return merely after a short time sentence was rather below the high grade of A-1 acumen which Mr. Hays has been producing for the past ten years. If Arbuckle was banished for cause, his banishment was too short. If the cause of his banishment was not real but imaginary, then he should have come back with an apology from those who banished him. If, on the other hand, the head of the motion picture thinks the sentiment which justified the banishment of Arbuckle from the films has subsided, the head of the motion picture industry has made the mistake of his young and innocent life.

Arbuckle had nothing coming to him except an apology or a longer sentence.

**What Herrin Means.**

THE evidence in the Herrin massacre indicated that the town of Herrin, which seems to be an average American community, not at all dominated by the foreign-born, went to the strip mine last summer with a cold-blooded decision to slaughter the strikebreakers. The town folk did wholesale, cowardly murder and probably tortured some of their victims. The union miners seem to have led, but they had the sympathy and support of their fellow citizens. The evidence in court brings out with terrible similitude the contemporary story of the reporters.

It may be well to consider this butchery as something more than an outbreak of angry men. It may be well to ask why the men got angry? Why they believed themselves justified in brutal slaughter of their fellow creatures. Why the town stood by them. The men who were killed were only exercising their ancient constitutional right to work; why were they treated worse than beasts? Americans are not given to bestial orgies like that at Herrin without some cause, however weak it may be. What was the deep significance of the action of these murderers?

We are facing here a changed attitude among workers and their sympathizers to our economic order. The workers and the town they lived in

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